uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /ʔinᵑɟi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /ʔinᵑɟi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /ʔinᵑɟi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /ʔinᵑɟi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrùku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Silverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

been met during the Christmas *fiesta*. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /kuʔu/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other *fiesteros* including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /kuʔu/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavitu/ "completists," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /kuʔu/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a *brujo* from *Rapalla Grande*, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

As the *fiesta* were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ʔiwʔi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ʔiwʔi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Banado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy /drunks moralizing to a drunkard/, but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ʔiwʔi/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ũnʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ũnʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralising and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inescapable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

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Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior [illegible] he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960, personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of